In Rhodes G-9 (ca. 1896-1904) 1905
FL12 Maasai FL12

kongoi, ewuwoiyo, etc. Eiji nuk 'ilOoiyanyi ilolkgonok kumok ne 'lkuone kongo,nolowi ere, nolabo 'ilOoiyanyi ol-chani, nolabiki; kake nebuk Ol-Oiwuo 'lolkgonok nana ol-nolkgani nirobi.

Ilkunitio.

Nolpiki 'lkOuone gilisi nitidigo 'nomito ne 'lkunitio, kake ne-gine ne-'lkunitio, nae ninje nolidigo 'ewuito, nolo-pulgo 'lkuilkuo gilisi.

One 'e-ditiitio nolidigidikuo 'lkunitio ne-'lkilkuoi nae e-wuik, e ol-kiriaki, e ol-gerunoi, e ne-gurusi. One 'e-ditiitio nolidigi nae 'lkiliki, ne 'e-duruta, ne 'e-dilikua, ne 'e-nilalalgusi, ne 'e-wuito, ne 'e-gulyo-ditiitio.

One 'eng'ongo nuanto ne-'l-Aikunitio ninyelgusi, nenki nitidig e-ninyai le-'lkoju le-Mainyoto.

Nenki ne-gilakinai nuanto 'lkunitio, kake nolo-kiakinai nanto 'lkunitio kunuk, eiji inne-kiakinai 'l-Kinyajiki.

Nolyeto Ol-kuilkue-Kiunue 'e-duiyo ne-'lkunitio, nere ilo

The smiths[1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

The smiths are in the days a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, knives, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Mainyeto river.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kinyanyi, to which most men of this clan belong.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

[1] The Kuenos and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumbuka (smiths) and Bantu (hunters) among the Swahili. No free Swahili enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none take a wife from this stock, or give his daughter to a member of it. The Tumbuka are spread over the whole of Swahililand as the Kuenos over Maasiland, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Bantu, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Baker, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 470.

I: Malinowski-Collection (ca. 1896-1916) 1915
FL.12 Manuscript FL.12

[297]

tarnon. Di-kumbine enjomo engang'.

Tan olkeiyi ol-Maasai ai-dikki enkidiyo ilon ol-kumbi, enno en-kiare, enno ol-oloto, engok e-loto engarian, enno ilo tarnon tan olkeiyi le-lagarian ake.

Kwate ol-'l-kumbini 'e-gilani kumok enno 'l-kidi'kine Maasai, enkinaare 'e-gilani. Tia ildi ol-kumbi kwia 'e-gilani artuni, ene kumok enkidiyi.

Kwia 'l-kumbini e-mosi lenye ol-kiri 'l-Maasai, kake ekerendi; kenyidiyi il-Maasai. Mine gilani enata, e-nairowa ake enata.

Words on 'l-pukurtie.

Kidia ildiyanyuki en'l-Maasai kwiya kitukiare 'nebbi; enenkine kwiya, enkiyudiyo ake ten 'l-enok.

Kiyudiyo ol 'l-pukurtie, enkii enno ten 'nebbiyan.

Kidia entanio ee-gilani ilo-nanye e-nebbi enkie.

Ore ten ekidiri il-Maasai 'nebbi, enkidiri le-gilanak en 'e-gwanki, enyuk gilani le-gwanaki yi ellodigye ten ediro.

Ten ngoro 'l-enonno enyudiyitie, enyuk ee-gilani ye enno ellodigye.

is not considered correct. The entire story amongst themselves. [296]

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all rubs his hand for it is considered inappropriate for him to take it in his bare hand. [296]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [297]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [298]

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from strangers. [299] [300]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [301]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [302]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles[1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles[1]. [303] [304]

[1] Lit. ears/ribs. [1] For illustrations see Hobley, The Lore of the Masai, p. 89.

The Nahkani of the Dzaoling subtribe, the country to the neighbourhood of the Dzaoling Hills and the Dzaoling Range. To this division belong the southern Nahkani. men of the 3 Main Tribes, of whom Nagal is now the chief. The Dzaoling is estimated to contain a population of 1,800 of whom 180 are Khans, 36,000 head of cattle, 18,000 sheep and 600 donkeys.

The 3 Dzao Lahkani came from Lashgan in 1910 and are sometimes known as the Dzao Lahkani. Their term a considerable proportion of Khoyra blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of the Dzaoza Range and their country has a population of 4,000, including some 70 Khans. They are said to possess 2,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 70 donkeys. Their Khans are divided into two "Kuhs" named S Dzaoza and Dzaoza.

The Dzaoza are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Dzaoza Dzaoza. Their population is estimated at 1,800 including 270 Khans, and their possession at 36,000 head of cattle, 18,000 sheep and 600 donkeys. Their Khans are divided into four "Kuhs" whose names are S Bahmani, S Mughali, S S-Dzaoza and S Dzaoza.

The Dzaoza of Lashgan inhabit the country to the south of S Dzaoza, Dzaoza of which country is crossed by the Dzaoza Range, S Dzaoza, Dzaoza, S of Dzaoza and Dzaoza passes. The population of this division is estimated to contain about 1,800 of whom 180 are Khans. These are divided into two "Kuhs," named S Dzaoza and S Mughali. The live-stock possessions are said to consist 36,000 head of cattle, 18,000 sheep and 600 donkeys.

In addition to the Khans, there are considerable numbers of Dzaoza Dzaoza of S Dzaoza living in the Khans Dzaoza. These subjects are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Khans, from which it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the hills and herds, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game.

The Dzaoza are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Khan, but small portion of them are also met in the Dzao Dzaoza, on the Lower Khan Dzaoza, along the Dzaoza border, and in the Dzaoza-Khan region. They live in low altitudes and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Khans' villages.

The Dzaoza are to be found on the Dzao Dzaoza, in the neighbourhood of Dzaoza and Dzaoza Dzaoza, on the western bank of the Khan Dzaoza, and in the Dzaoza country. In all, they probably number about 1,800.

There exists in the country a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Dzaoza Dzaoza, called S Dzaoza, who make iron weapons, but are treated as outcastes, and are not allowed to marry Khan women.

To conclude, the Khans are a Indian, conservative, skeletal people, Khans Dzaoza subsequently governed by Dzaoza of Khans, who admit themselves to be Dzaoza Dzaoza general to deal with the idle body of warriors whose reason of race has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently handsome to render authority the contents of their purses. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have assumed numerous herds of cattle of a good quality, and considerable sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are superb in the use of arms, and were prominent fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, shrewdness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability. They have always evaded their Dzaoza Dzaoza liability to the land to the Khans Dzaoza, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered tribes in the Khan Dzaoza Protectorate.

L. S. B. Leakey.—*Some Notes on the Akamba of Kenya Colony.* [illegible]

Milking.—Milking is usually done by women and girls, but uninitiated boys may also milk. Milk is often drunk fresh or is curdled by mixing with blood, or is curdled alone by leaving for two or three days.

Raiding.—Frequent raids on neighbouring tribes are carried out by the younger men, and the cattle and sheep so obtained are some of them distributed to a warrior's parents and friends and some kept for himself. When cattle are raided from another clan or sub-clan in order to repay a murder (see Murder), all animals killed, and otherwise damaged cattle are consumed immediately afterwards, for to keep these would certainly bring bad luck on the raiders.

Part II.—[illegible] Terms.

Fire.—Fire for special occasions is made by means of the hand-drill method, and women may not make fire by this means. Normally, fire is obtained from the ashes of the previous day's fire or from a live coal borrowed from a neighbouring hut. The first fire in all new huts must be made with fire-sticks.

Murder.—Should a man kill a member of his own sub-clan there is no penalty exacted. "What would be the use of taking a fine from one's own sub-clan?" If, however, a man of another sub-clan is killed, then the sub-clan of the murdered man and the murderer's sub-clan and *mbi* to arrive cattle in compensation. Usually a fine light taken place and if, in the course of this, a man of the murderer's sub-clan is killed, the matter is considered all square, and any raided cattle are returned. In the course of such a case all cattle of cattle are driven off, but all the blood and sacrificial cows are returned next morning (see Raiding, above).

Smiths.—Among the Akamba smiths are considered "bad." There are smiths in each clan, and the business is purely a family one handed down from father to son. Young boys of smiths' families are initiated alone, and never initiated go straight to the business of smithing and may take no part in the life of the ordinary warriors or warriors. Smiths are considered to be considerably lower in the social scale than even the Wandorobo. A Dorobo can leave his hunting life and work as a true Akamba if he so chooses, but never a smith.

If a smith comes and sleeps at a village he is given a bed, but must sleep on the wrong side of the sleeping hide (*i.e.* the rough hairy side). Smiths may only marry with smiths' families. No Akamba would dream of marrying or having any kind of sexual intercourse with a smith's daughter (Wandorobo girls may be married by Akamba, but not vice versa), nor can a smith marry an ordinary Akamba girl. Smiths make spears and small knives, cattle bells and iron ornaments, but never swords, which are always bought from the Kikuyu. Should a Akamba buy the cattle or sheep of a smith he must dip them in the river before adding them to his flock.

[illegible] is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the women to get [illegible] by milking. In the division of work, the people widely concerned are the [illegible] the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding [illegible] by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the menfolk. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become brides of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work then falls on the older women, who besides doing or superintending the cooking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, tend and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors tend to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the juniors and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the domestic sphere are the smiths, *Kimoron*, sing. *ol-Kimoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among their own [illegible] They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who all [illegible] before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mongasha river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[1]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women make pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Dorobo.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included those [illegible] cattle, buffalo, *el-arrowaen*, and eland, *e-ainoi*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[2] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people ate vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which died a natural death. Warriors when they went to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *el-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox or a given area of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Dorobo agriculturists, *il-wandi*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (all, hence, and otherwise unsatisfactory coins), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (maize, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Dorobo; the chief suppliers of metal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[1] Ludorp says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*J.R.A.I.* LII, p. 308); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[2] The Latuka also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Baker, *Ismailia* (London, 1874), chap. XX, Cook.

[illegible] [illegible]

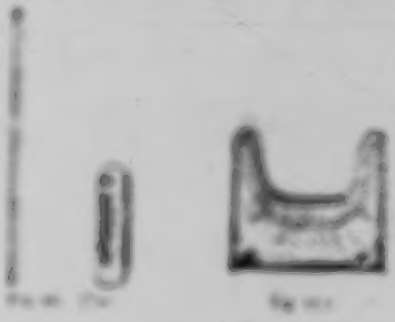
- [illegible]

[For additional material on the [illegible].]

[illegible] goat or sheep. Other dwellers consist of both a piece of a thin tree trunk, which bears on its lower end a wreath of branches, or else of a wooden handle on whose lower end, to one placed crosswise, as two short cross-sticks. The blacksmiths make an axe both. A little board (or [illegible]) of soft wood and a rotating stick (or both) of [illegible] of hard wood (1)

1. Especially from the of [illegible] (Pinus [illegible]) and of [illegible] (Cedrus [illegible]).

serve as fire-lighters (Fig. 18). To make fire, one holds the little board firmly on the ground with both hands, while another bends before it and, twirling as it with the stick, produces the necessary friction. After approximately half a minute, when the fine dust-rings collect off the board-wooden, one dusts on some dried cattle-dung. As soon as this starts to glow, one puts brush on it. Once the fire is burning in one of the huts, the people come here from the others, a stick of firewood in hand, in order to fetch fire for themselves. With the household equipment also belong the boomerang-shaped



(Fig. 19 [illegible] and Fig. 17) of bones, of [illegible], which in former times were needed only as daggers, but now are also carried by the women on their backs, just like their leather bags of [illegible], especially when they set out to buy vegetables.

by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (3)

1. Cf. Chapter 12 of this part.

(of home) or to his age-class associates (of age). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the latest are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between junior brother and sister is not permitted: this is regarded as incest. Moreover, the men may not marry two women from the same lineage: it is precisely in consistently in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

Widows (of guilds) & guild) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband. If there is no other obstacle to marriage between them. Difference in wealth is in practice no obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, elegantly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

(111 cont.)

When one so often sees how the warrior flirt with the girls and how the latter act lovingly with the former, one would expect an abundance of expressions of tenderness. But here, too, this does not turn out to be true. The only pet name that the warrior gives the girl is *jenanet* ◆ my darling, while the girl calls him *ol dhere lel* ◆ my friend, or else more *kafir nelel* ◆ I love you very much, to which the warrior replies *Nai ka ol geyenik* ◆ we shall see (literally *tabbe nenin* /I shall see it right/).

XIII.

Blacksmiths.

The blacksmiths. — Their own breed. — Their social position. — Attitude toward the blacksmiths. — Workshop. — Tools. — Iron extraction. — Technique. — Blacksmiths' products; their prices. — Wire drawing.

The breeds of the blacksmiths lie isolated, apart from the true Masai breeds. It is not correct to designate these as a blacksmith tribe, since there are blacksmiths (*il lemeet, el lemeeny*) in all three tribes and also in all lineages, except the Il Kiboron, and neither a single tribe nor a single lineage contains exclusively of blacksmiths. They form a caste of their own and are the pariahs of the breed, the despised and detested, the outcasts, whom one would prefer not to tolerate if one did not need them so urgently. From ancient times the trade has been handed down from father to son, who only practices the calling after his marriage, therefore as *el moruo*. One cannot detach oneself from the caste by not practicing the trade; rather, one who comes from a blacksmith family always remains *el lemeet*, no matter whether he works as a blacksmith or not. If, on the other hand — which happens only very exceptionally — a Masai who does not belong to the blacksmith caste permanently or temporarily practices the blacksmith's trade, he will, to be sure, also be regarded with scorn, but neither he himself nor his descendants will be despised as blacksmiths or counted in the blacksmith caste. A blacksmith kraal [illegible] (*olle en el lemeeny*) in the vicinity of other kraals brings the latter bad

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luck and would cause their inhabitants illness and death for man and beast. Even in an emergency one never claims the hospitality of a blacksmith, any more than one ever grants him guest privileges. The warriors coming from blacksmith families do not live in the ordinary warrior kraals, but in the smaller blacksmith warrior-kraal (ol manjata l el moran l el konono) and only with daughters of blacksmiths. They do not set out for the battlefield with the other warriors either, but alone, and naturally bring along, since they /112/ are few in number, only a little booty each time, which then often enough is simply taken away from them by the other warriors. An-
[582] other Masai does not marry the daughter of an ol kononi, just as the latter's son dare not desire in marriage the daughter of a man who
[837] does not belong to the despised blacksmith caste. Even the extra-marital association with a woman or girl belonging to the black-smiths is regarded as disastrous for any other Masai. It is believed that he will sooner or later lose his mind, will never be able to become the father of a healthy child, or on the next field expedition he will be killed by the spear or arrow of an enemy. How despised
[784] the blacksmiths are is shown by the fact that a Masai does not dare
[792] to pronounce the word "ol kononi" after the onset of darkness (1).

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1. More than once the people, when in camp, in the evening, I wanted to speak with them about the el konono, begged me to abstain from this, because otherwise some misfortune would befall us. Nevertheless it happened from time to time, and thus also on the evening of December 31, 1901, when I was camped near a Tatoga settlement on the steppe southwest of Mburu. A lion then penetrated into my camp in the night and took a man, whom we, despite prompt pursuit of the lion, could no longer rescue. The next morning the Masai made me responsible for this incident, "it would not have happened if you had not spoken about the el konono last evening; we have so often told you this."

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564 326 [192] [784] [578] because he thinks a misfortune will be conjured up by it; it is feared that a lion would get into the kraal or the camp at night or that the enemy would carry out an attack. To call someone "ol kononi" is regarded by the other Masai as a strongly insulting invective expressing contempt.

564 826 709 829 [783] The contempt toward blacksmiths is based on the view that the blacksmiths are unclean. God forbade human beings the shedding of blood. By making weapons, the chief product of the blacksmiths among primitive peoples, they induce transgression of the divine commandment, work against the latter. Hence they are condemned by God, and therefore they are regarded by their fellowmen as unclean, contemptible, bringing misfortune. Daily observation also teaches -- so the Masai say -- that God does not love blacksmiths, for a blacksmith actually never becomes prosperous; if he should happen to become wealthy, however, he would soon die, without being able to enjoy his property.

564 326 142 It should expressly be brought out here that, despite all the efforts devoted to it, I have not been able to determine the slightest somatic difference between blacksmiths and non-blacksmiths and that all non-blacksmiths questioned by me (there were several hundred) described the blacksmiths as pure, unmixed members of the Masai people, which the blacksmiths themselves also maintain without exception (2).

564 326 197 198 114 2. Obviously the Masai blacksmiths speak the Masai Language and not another one of their own, as had been supposed from the statement by C. Hollis in his book, The Masai, their language and folklore, Oxford, 1905, p. 331. Hollis says there /the quotation is in English/: "The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it." This statement by Hollis is ex-

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/footnote 2 cont./ plained by the fact that a few El lumbua blacksmiths also live among the Masai blacksmiths. They speak their own dialect, which, of course, is unintelligible to the non-blacksmith El masai ("ordinary Masai," as Hollis designates them), who, indeed, scarcely come in contact with them.

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The opinion of many a European, that the /113/ relative diligence of the blacksmith might have brought to him the scorn of that type from the non-blacksmiths not inclined to work, is also a rude error. I have become acquainted with a large number of El konono who for about two decades have not had a hammer in their hands and very many who have not even made an attempt to learn the trade, but rather live entirely like other Masai. All these, however, were despised exactly the same as their forging fellow caste members.

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Like the blacksmiths themselves, the products of their art, the weapons and utensils made by them, are regarded as unclean. In order to take the uncleanness from them, the Masai rubs with fat every new object fetched from the blacksmith's shop, as well as his hands which have touched the still unclean object.

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Even the reputation that a few armorers enjoy, on account of the excellence of their products changes nothing in their low social position. The most famous at the moment, old left-handed Engussa from Ol brugga, an artist in his field, is just as despised as any other blacksmith. The Ol brugge people, however, jealously see to it that he does not also work for warriors of any other province or even for members of another people.

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While the other kraals, tied to the presence of good pastures, are always moved with the disappearance of the latter, the blacksmith kraals remain for a long time in the same localities. The el konono have only very little livestock, but for their craft they need charcoal and ferruginous sand. They establish their homes where both are to be found nearby. The workshop (ol guguet) is built close to the kraal. It consists of a grass roof resting on six to eight posts. In the center lies the hearth (en edoñschore). The smith makes his tools as well as his

/113 cont./
326 [314] [824] charcoal (eñ gúkuo, á guk). The charcoal, in piles the height of a man, is burned out of the wood of the trees ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), ol kadedemma, ol mandemando, and a few others and then carried to the smithy in skin sacks. A stone (os soid l eñ gidoñgore : stone of forging) serves as an anvil. The hammer (os gisirjedi, el gisirjed, Fig. 21 (1))

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1. See p. 150.

has the shape of a pestle, the lower end of which is somewhat compressed. Working with it is pounding, not hammering. The tongs (ol garamet, el garameta, Fig. 22 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) consist of two parts that are joined by a pin mechanism. Their grip arms are long, the grasp arms short. The small striking chisel (Fig. 23 (1) /see footnote 1 above/) (ol oiseñge, el oiseñgen) has the usual shape. The bellows (eñ gunet, á gunet) is /114/ represented in two forms. The one very widespread in Central Africa, which consists of [171] [237] two conical bags made of sheepskin or goatskin (Fig. 24), is the most common. In the lower end of each bag is stuck a wooden plug, like a stopper, through which projects an iron tube 20 centimeters long. In place of the latter there is also often a wooden tube, or for both bags together a forked branch hollowed out like a tube. On the upper, wide end of the bag two sticks are sewed on with small thongs so that they form the opening in a slit. The one using the bellows -- usually an old man or a woman -- grasps with each hand one of the two bags at the upper end, so that they, opened with the stretching of the bellows by spreading out the hands, let air enter. With the following pressing together of the bellows, by squeezing the sticks together, /Figs. 21-25 appear here/ one prevents the air from ebbing back again and drives it through the lower iron tube. Both iron tubes open into a clay tube (ol modi, el modio) lying in the fire. The two bags of the bellows are manipulated in such a way that with the stretching of one the other one is squeezed together at the same time. The other type (Fig. 25) consists of a wooden bowl -- covered with skin for durability -- upon which is tied, airtight, a leather bag that has a round hole on top. In using the bellows, one inserts here the thumb of the right hand and with it stretches the bag upward. With the compressing of the bag the hole is closed with the palm of the hand. Below at the side of the wooden bowl is found the air tube.

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[237] (ol bigit) (1).
[136]

1. From Achatina fatalis Marts. and Ampullaria ovata Oliv.

are welded together. As this shows, the extraction of iron is very difficult work. Therefore it is still found only rarely today. For the [487] most part one works iron wire, which everywhere in the Masai country is the favorite article of barter. Pieces of wire 15 to 25 feet long are twisted together; when they are red-hot, they are sprinkled with snail shells and then hammered together. The object ready in shape, for example, a sword blade, is smoothed and polished with volcanic slag and sharpened on a stone. The principal • 326 products of the blacksmith art are: spear, sword, and knife. The two parts of the spear, blade (es sibil, sibilin) and socket (ol ŋgorát, el ŋgoratí), a blacksmith with his helpers should make in one day,

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Fig. 26a. (1/1)

326 sword (ol além kitok, el aléma kirwa) and ax (ol dólu, el dóluo) in half a day, the other smaller objects, such as knife (ol alem), awl (ol dědó, el dědí), iron for cattle branding (ol měněrě, el měněrěn), arrow points (em bunid, m bunido), razors (ol mŏrŏnjĭ, el mŏrŏnjáni), tweezers for plucking the beard (ol budet, el budeta), in a still shorter time. As payment he receives for a spear two goats or an ox; [435] for a sword, a large livestock-bell (eń gurugur, ń guruguri); for an

/115 cont./

326 [435] ax or ten arrow points, a goat each; for the other things he is paid with milk. If the orderer furnished the iron wire, only half of the prices named is given as payment for the labor.

From thick brass and copper wire (os sojai, es soja; os sojai ebor, brass wire; os sojai gdó, copper wire) the blacksmiths draw thin wire. For this they use as tools the eñ gâuo and the ol gamêt. The former is an iron approximately a foot long (Fig. 26a), which is an inch thick in the middle and on both sides often tapers to points. In the center it has a few conical holes of different widths through which the wire is drawn. Not infrequently the en gâuo also consists only of a piece of strong sheet iron that /116/ is not pointed at the ends. The ol gamêt (Fig. 26b) serves as tongs and has the shape of sugar tongs whose grasping arms are squeezed together by an iron spiral
325 drawn around them. The drawing of small pieces of wire is done by hand, whereby one man grasps the eñ gâuo, the other the tongs. For larger work the former with its two points is wedged into a forked

[413]

Fig. 26b. 1/3

wooden block, while the wire already drawn through is fastened to a roller resting on two forked branches. By a slow turning of it the wire drawing then proceeds. In order to make the wire still thinner, it is drawn a second time through an iron with a smaller hole. The
306 spiral-shaped neck-ornament of the Masai women (es segengei e
301 murt), the double-spiral earrings of thick brass wire (es surudiai,
325 surudia) the women and old men, the arm and leg cuffs of iron
462 wire (es segengei, with designation of the part on which they are worn), as well as the tin ear-pendants (ol aimír, el aimér), are made by

/119 cont./
177 that" (1).
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1. When, after receiving news of an ugly misdemeanor or crime, I spoke to one or another more trustworthy Masai about the unknown culprit, I often heard: It was surely not a Masai. A Masai would not do anything like that. Such things do not happen among the Masai.

Though he may know better, he accuses an ol mēgi just as unhesitatingly as he absolves a fellow tribesman (2).

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2. It may be mentioned here that, according to my observation, the insincerity and dishonesty of the people belonging to the blacksmith caste are decidedly greater than that of the other Masai, so that it seems as if the contempt and bad treatment that the former experience from the latter have bred an inferiority of character in the course of the millenniums.

829 The mental superiority of the European inpresses him only in such cases where it has convicted him of some villainy, while his technical skills reek far too much of the despised "ol kononi" to the Masai to seem worth notice. It is solely the guns of the Protectorate Troops that obtain for the white man respect and influence among the Masai and have made this master race of East Africa somewhat more modest.

186 The picture becomes more gratifying if one observes the Masai
181 in intercourse with his own kind. Dobirá en gutok sidai el masai = make a good mouth toward the Masai, that is, be good, friendly, sincere toward your fellow tribesmen.

/214 cont./
628 682 [672] [593] revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- [613] [614] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes its place.

[598] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called [326] [564] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 613 672 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half [614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a 682 634 184 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also [672] [628] only very rarely used.

/255 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

D 181 [186] In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the el meg,[1] whom they call mondo. It is not possible to give a D [177] general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match M D 648 for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

M [326] [564] Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The ol kononi is also completely without rights before the ol doroboni. The Wandorobo D [829] appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When D 648 they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been 181 attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about D 181 the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity 171 against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, [562] etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

D 576 171 In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs aija matida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1, [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

/261 cont./

000 D 431 O 572 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

D [197] [426]

D [177]

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D 682 628 [171] [672] As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is regarded as puni-andgt, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai. If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would

D [648]

D M 682 648

M [664] [326]

M D 682 648 M [564] [326]

/262 cont./ never have anything to do with taking their part. On the other hand, if an Asa is killed by a blacksmith, the Masai immediately place themselves on the side of the ones injured and avenge murder, manslaughter, or negligent homicide by murdering the perpetrator. The Wandorobo, to be sure, would themselves be in a position to execute the revenge, but the Masai do not permit this because they see in it an encroachment on their rights as masters of the land and in particular also of the el konono.

D 683 [682]

Bodily injury with a fatal outcome, if caused intentionally, is regarded as murder; if negligently, as negligent homicide. Minor bodily injuries are atoned for with the payment of a specific number of beehives. For the destruction of a finger one beehive is paid, for one hand eight; among some Wandorobo who live in close contact with the Masai the atonement for the destruction of a finger or the whole hand amounts to a fat-tailed sheep. Bodily injury leading only to the loss of an index finger or an eye often remains unpunished,

D [847] [839] [674]

as does indecent assault. Abortion is said to be unknown, and perversion not to occur. Kidnapping and sale are unknown.

D 685

A theft committed in the camp by an inhabitant or stranger is atoned for by the return of the stolen goods; that of a beehive hanging outside the camp, with the payment of ten new ones. Anyone who steals honey from a beehive pays five beehives. Arson is said

D 683

not to occur; one who is the cause of the illness of another through sorcery is not infrequently killed, after he has been persuaded to

D 689

charm the sick one back to health. The shooting of poisoned arrows in the camp is strictly forbidden, because of the danger connected with it. Anyone who transgresses this law must expect to be killed immediately by his campmates.

D 681

Unknown are: aggravated kinds of death, the principle of repaying like with like, compensation in the culpable body part, symbolism, imprisonment, enslavement, public punishments, the right of pardon.

D 787

For the inquiry concerning an unknown culprit, the injured one turns -- /263/ as has already been mentioned -- to a sorcerer, who is also called ol goiatiki[1] among the Wandorobo. Instead of the manipulations with the en gidon, he throws a pair of sandals on the ground in front of him eight times, then picks them up and puts

1. [ol goiatiki is a Masai word also meaning sorcerer--Analyst]

/316 cont./

The Kenites of the Bible -- the Smiths of the Masai

*121 *171 • 326 564 The Bible mentions as the first blacksmith Tubal-Kain /Tubal-Cain/, the son of Lamech by his second wife, Zilla /Zillah/ (Gen. 4, 22). The name is made up of two words, the latter of which shall be discussed first. Kain /Cain/ is mentioned in two places in the Jahvist /Yahwist/ source: first Gen. 4, 2 as the eldest son of Adam and as the first tiller of the ground, and then in the same chapter, Verse 17, in the list of forefathers. In Gen. 5 the Priestly Document gives the table of the forefathers and in it calls Kain Kenan /Cainan/ (Verse 9), i.e., blacksmith. Now Kenan is the same word as ol konohi (pl. el konono) of the Masai or kinaŋgodschant /317/ (pl. kinaŋodiga) of the Tatoga, among both of whom it also means blacksmith. The other part of the name, Tubal, we find among the Somal in tumál, among the Abyssinians in dubalanza, among the Galla in tumtu, everywhere with the meaning "blacksmith."

According to Gen. 4, Kain was a tiller of the ground and was separated from his people, like the first blacksmith among the Masai, who was also a tiller of the soil. The Masai despises the tiller of [829] the soil so deeply that it is entirely in keeping with his way of thinking when God takes no notice of Kain and his thank-offering of the fruits of the earth, even though Kain may otherwise have been a good man and not -- as the Jahve Document reports in Gen. 4 -- the first murderer.

The Jahvist /Yahwist/ calls the descendants of Kain /Cain/ Kenites (4th Moses /Numbers/ 24, 21, 22). We see from three passages in the Bible how low the Kenites stand in Israel's estimation. In Gen. 4, 11 the Jahvist relates that the curse of God is upon them when he describes how God curses Kain. In Gen. 15, 19 (Jahvist) the Kenites are mentioned as the first of the tribes that are to be destroyed by Israel, and in 4th Moses /Numbers/ 24, 25 /sic; see 24, 22/ (Jahvist) Bileam /Balaam/ sings: "but nevertheless Kain must be destroyed." Thus, everywhere hatred and scorn against the Kenites, the very same feelings that the Masai entertain against the blacksmiths, whether or not the latter practice their

/317 cont./

craft or are merely descendants of blacksmiths. The blacksmiths, because, through the making of knives and weapons, they lead to the transgression of the -- also existing in Israel -- divine command that prohibits bloodshed (1),

1. and also because they make plowshares. Ed. Hommel.

were regarded by the original Semites as not beloved, but rather condemned by God, and therefore as contemptible, disaster-causing, and unclean (2).

2. I see proof for the great age of this view in the use of the reed splinter mentioned in the eighth commandment of the Masai; cf. farther below /see p.328/.

Accordingly I suspect that the Biblical Kenites can not be regarded as a separate tribe, but that rather they are the descendants of the blacksmiths from the period when the Israelites were still uncivilized nomads, and that at that time the blacksmiths in Israel had the same low social position as today among the Masai and the aforementioned as well as other Semite peoples.

But now why does the Bible call the Kenites a separate tribe, why does it not call them a people of blacksmiths, and why does it nowhere say that the blacksmiths of Israel once occupied a low social position? Information on these questions is given in part by the Bible itself, in part by the observations that one can still make today among the Masai.

Let us first consider the first question. Like the Masai, the nomadic Israelites also had definite pasturing grounds within the boundaries of which they migrated about. If the grass had been grazed off in one spot, /318/ the huts covered with cattle skins were dismantled and one moved to a place not far away. In contrast to this, the blacksmiths continue to live in one place for a longer time, often even permanently, as long as warlike events do not force them to flee. Their property in livestock is usually small, for, as soon as it becomes larger, the

/318 cont./

*121 *171 • 326 564 nonsmiths, by right and custom, take from the smiths the principal part of it by force. The grazing in the vicinity of their kraals is not disputed with them, the shunned ones, by anyone and therefore suffices throughout the year for their few head of livestock. But then the smiths are also tied to certain places, namely, to such where ferruginous sand and wood, the latter for the making of charcoal, are found. Since these requirements are present only in relatively few places, colonies of blacksmiths arise. Their usually small property in livestock soon makes them dependent on agriculturalists, among whom they must buy vegetables (1).

1. and whom they in return supply with plowshares. Ed. Hommel.

If, however, such are not in reachable proximity or if their own fellow tribesmen prevent the selling of smithy products to sedentary tribes, the blacksmith perforce begin to plant the soil themselves to a limited extent and in this way also become agriculturalists. This semisedentation detaches them from their own people even more than they were already separated by the aforementioned contempt. If then war or famine, for example, through drought or livestock epidemics, comes in addition, the blacksmith colony may be completely cut off from its own people. Thus it may have happened, when the Israelites were driven into Egypt as the result of famine, that the semisedentary smiths remained behind. Now the latter, through a closer connection with the agriculturalists, perhaps in southern Kanaan /Canaan/, or through the fact that a foreign tribe forced them, through friendship or war, to settle among them, and as a consequence of the mixing through intermarriage made possible by that, may have developed into a separate people or have been given, in the eyes and minds of the Israelites coming into contact with them again after about 500 years, the physiognomy characteristic of such a people, which caused them to call them Kenites. This surmise, however, is justified only if one may assume that the Israelites were already acquainted with the "Kenite people" upon their return from Egypt, and -- which leads to the same result

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here -- the former smiths had been taken in by peoples who gave them, the blacksmiths, their daughters as wives. I am inclined to doubt the latter on the basis of my observations of the African peoples stemming from Arabia. But the fact that the former assumption too is scarcely tenable seems to follow from the strong anger of the Jahvist /Yahwist/ against the Kenites, for they are the one whom he, above all heathens, especially condemns with eloquent words. One would thus come to the assumption that the "Kenite people" may not have originated until later, and, to be sure, not long before the drawing up of the Jahve Document, and that furthermore the former /319/ blacksmiths of the Israelites may have kept themselves quite free of mixture with foreign blood. Then one might suspect, in order to explain why the Bible describes the Kenites as another people, that the Israelites were already heavily mixed at the time of the origin of the Jahve Document. This conjecture would be in agreement with the Biblical accounts and would be further supported by the fact that the author speaks so forcibly against mixture with the daughters of the heathen and even cites this circumstance as the reason for the deluge. But we probably do not need this conjecture either, for the Bible means by an alien people, not another political community or a society of human beings formed differently somatically, but primarily people whose cult was incompatible with that of the Israelites.

The second question, as to why the Bible does not designate the Kenites as a blacksmith people is explained in part by what has just been said, through their sedentation they had precisely in general exchanged the craft for agriculture, and in part it comes from the following.

Now why does the Bible nowhere directly state that the blacksmiths were regarded as a low caste? Though, according to the above, it is not probable (1)

1. This question becomes even more improbable because of the great infrequency of the insignificant finds of iron throughout in ancient Egypt, even if its dating for the Old and Middle Kingdom is corect.

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#121 #171 • 326 564 that part of the blacksmiths moved to Egypt with Israel, the possibility that this nevertheless might have been the case should not be excluded either. Now how would these blacksmiths have fared then? If we assume, with the Bible, that at that time the Israelites were a pious people and were reduced to servitude by the Egyptians, either of these circumstances could then have sufficed, in the course of their long captivity, to remove in practice the ancient prejudice against the blacksmiths and to unite firmly the fellow believers as well as the fellow tribesmen. There still remains another possibility, however. If we assume that the latter did not happen and that at that time, just as, correspondingly, is the case even today among the Semite peoples of the interior of Africa, marriage between relatives of smiths and nonsmiths was not permitted, it would have become imperative for the smiths, employed in various localities on account of their skill in making weapons and separated from one another for the hastening of permanent sedentation in the land, to merge with the Egyptians through mixture with them. If there arose through that a shortage of smiths for the Israelites, this could have been remedied by having people from families who did not originally belong to the blacksmith caste learn the craft in Egypt and practice it there as well as later on. By analogy with the Masai, such people would not sink in the public esteem by practicing the blacksmith's calling. But even if I assume that a part of the smiths /320/ returned from Egypt with Israel, their social position must have become better, conditioned by the shaping of the religious cult, in the service of which the smith placed his craft for the making of vessels and other implements. He whose duty was the outfitting of the temple could no longer have remained a despised, shunned, unclean man.

[783] If, therefore, the Old Testament nowhere directly states that the blacksmiths made up a lower, a despised caste, in my opinion in its oldest part it nevertheless still contains reminders of the fact that the blacksmith was also regarded as unclean by the Israelites in antiquity.

/320 cont./

*121 *171 • 326 564 783 If the blacksmith is unclean, then so are the objects that he touches, especially the ones that come from his hands as products of his skill. Now, since the blacksmith's products are indispensable in daily life, people help themselves by means of a purification ceremony. The Tatoga as well as the Irok man dips a new object fetched from the blacksmith's workshop into the water of a distant brook and at the same time washes his hands. The Masai smear with fat the things coming from the hand of the smith -- spear (blade and shoe), sword, knife, razor-knife, ax, sewing awl, pincers, arrow points, branding iron, cowbells, large and small leg-bells, as well as various ornamental objects -- and likewise their hands, which touch these things -- in order to remove from them the uncleanness adhering to them from the blacksmith. I do not know whether the ancient Israelites had a similar custom, but I deem it likely.

What seems adequate for secular life need not suffice for the religious cult; on the contrary, it may be assumed from the first that people are more sensitive there. Thus, in place of the iron knife, the Masai used a reed splinter for cutting the umbilical cord of the newborn child, in accordance with their eighth commandment. Now a number of Biblical passages that tell of the oldest period of Israel, the time of the nomadism, also speak of the use of the stone knife and others of the prohibition of the iron knife for cult purposes. Thus we read in the 4th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses /Exodus/ in the 25th verse: "Then Zippora /Zipporah/ took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son." And in the 5th chapter of the Book of Josua /Joshua/, Jahve /Yahweh/ commands the latter: "Make thee stone knives and circumcise again the sons of Israel for the second time. Then Josua /Joshua/ made him stone knives and circumcised the sons of Israel at the hill Araloth." We find the interdict for the use of the iron toll in the 20th chapter of the 2nd Book of Moses: "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it (1)."

1. This order has been interpreted that the natural, original character of the altar would

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/footnote 1 continued/ make it particularly worthy of God. This assumption is untenable, however, in view of the specific order concerning the arrangement of the tabernacle and the temple, the artistic furnishings, the sumptuous priest's clothing with the breast shield studded with precious gems," etc.

Here it is /321/ therefore directly stated that the stones will become desecrated through being hewn with iron tools. Circumcision and altar, however, are the oldest and at the same time the most important arrangements of the Israelitish cult. Just as the stones of the altar were not to be made unclean by contact with the chisel rendered unclean by the blacksmith, so also the use of the iron knife for circumcision, through which, indeed, the Israelite was precisely to be purified religiously, had to be forbidden (1).

1. Even in ancient Egypt the blacksmith's product appears -- traditionally, consciously or unconsciously -- to have been regarded as unclean: one opened the abdominal cavity of the deceased with a stone knife for the purpose of embalmment.

It is to be particularly noted here that, of the three Biblical passages drawn on, the first two belong to the Jahvist /Yahwist/, the last to an elaboration from Jahvist and Elohist. But the Jahvist -- as I have already mentioned above -- is the one source that above knows Kain /Cain/ and the Kenites as well as the connection between the two and is also considered the oldest of the ones worked together into the Pentateuch. I believe one may conclude from this that the sources upon which the Jahve Document is based would have known about the uncleanness of the smiths, which would furnish proof for the existence of this view in ancient Israel.

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*121 *171 • 326 564 [183]

That it was subsequently lost is sufficiently explained by the fact that the Israelites settled down among non-Semitic peoples by whom the blacksmiths were not regarded as unclean and among Semitic ones who, through the influence of the others, probably likewise were no longer familiar with it, as well as further through the influencing that their psyche underwent through the immediate and subsequently permanent mixing with these peoples. With the loss of this view, there was also lost the fear of the use of the iron knife for circumcision, but, on the other hand, the altar was erected out of unhewn stones even in the Makkabäer /Maccabean/ period (1st Makk. /Macc./ 4, 47), but only because this was expressly commanded in Mosaic law (2nd Moses /Exodus/ 20, 25), whereas nothing is contained in it about the use of the stone knife for circumcision.

Now if the Kenites are the descendants of the blacksmiths of the Israelites from the pre-Egyptian period, i.e., from the nomadic period of Israel, their dispersal at Sinai, in Kanaan /Canaan/, among the Amalekites and Midianites is explained by the fact that they, as among primitive peoples still today, so at that time also among civilized peoples, as makers of weapons, always are and were the most valuable prisoners of war. The Bible also gives the information that this prevailed in the wars against Israel. According to 2nd Kings 24, 14, all the smiths of Jerusalem were captured by Nebuchadnezzar, and, according to 1st Sam. 13, 19, all the smiths of Israel were led off by the Philistines.

Since the other Pentateuch sources are no more familiar with Kain /Cain/, or a personality corresponding to him, as the first murderer than the myth of the Masai is, /322/ and since furthermore it does not in the least fit in with the sphere of thought of a primitive people to picture the eldest son of the first human couple as the murderer of his brother and hence as an obstacle to the rapid increase of human beings on earth, I suspect that the Jahvist legend of Kain's murder of his brother did not originate until a later time. In the advanced Israel, with its more highly regarded smith, there could no longer be any place for the traditional contempt of the Kenites. One needed another reason in order to represent as contemptuous

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and wicked the fellow tribesmen reared in heathendom, who, through their tribal affiliation, were especially likely to introduce heathen influence and heathen vices into Israel through intermarriage. In addition it seems natural if among a people that, even in the state of culture-poor nomadism, had a deeper religious feeling there was formed a legend that was suitable for interpreting the Kenites as descendants of a tribal ancestor cursed by God for the gravest crime. Such a legend could arise all the more easily since -- as I have already said above -- the smiths were regarded by the original Semites as leaders toward the transgression of the divine command against bloodshed, as not beloved by God, and therefore as contemptible and unclean. In the early Semitic view the smiths were condemned as leaders to murder, in the Bible Kain /Cain/ is condemned as a murderer himself.

The Deception about the Right of the First-born

#773 #539 #171 #121

In the days of the El dertim, the myth of the Masai reports, there lived a man named Narabá. He had a son who was given the name Mutari because he was born toward sunset. When Mutari grew up, he married the woman Nastígoi, who was named after the bush e' nasegó, because her mother, when she bore the child under her heart, wanted to eat nothing but the roots of that bush. When Nastígoi became pregnant, she carried triplets, and when she gave birth, only two children came into the world at first, two sons. The one born first was already very hairy on his body and also already had a beard, which was why he was given the name 'L ol munjoi (= the bearded one). The other one was called 'L en jergog, because, soon after birth, his mother wrapped him in soft, undehaired calf-leather (en jergog). Not until three months later was the third child born, also a boy. He was given the name Ndarasi = the tarrier. Whereas the excessive growth of hair of 'L ol munjoi increased considerably with age, 'L en jergog had only a very sparse beard, and Ndarasi remained completely beardless. One day, when the old father was very ill, the two older brothers went to a supplication feast that was being celebrated in the vicinity, in order to ask God

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*539 the herder's staff and the bow and instructed them about the use of
*773 these things. Then he commanded them to cover their eyes with
*171 their hands. When they had done this, God held aloft the herder's
*121 staff and asked which of them wanted to have the thing held aloft.
829 One of them peered through his fingers, recognized the herder's staff, and quickly answered in the affirmative. He became a cattlebreeder, while the other one, who had held his hands tight over his eyes and had seen nothing, became a poor hunter (2)."

[326]
[564]

2. At a later period, when the original reason for the scorn of the smiths had fallen into oblivion among the Masai, this story was amplified so that the smiths too were included. God then held three things in his hand: the herder's staff, the bow, and the hammer. Upon the question of God, the one who later became the Masai chose the herder's staff; the second, who here too peered through his fingers, but was shier than the first, chose the bow, so that for the last one, who had seen nothing, only the hammer remained. Both this story and the one above exist side by side among the Masai today.

*539 /324/ I hardly believe that I shall go wrong if I assume that, in
*773 place of the one story contained in the Bible, the Israelitish fund of
*121 myths originally knew two, which, in their basic features, corre-
*171 sponded to those of the Masai, and one of which merely represents a reproduction of a historical episode, while the other bore the character of a religious myth. That this character was preserved in the later joining together of the two accounts is shown by the Biblical interpretation, and, to be sure, most clearly by that of the Jahvist /Yahwist/ (1).

1. Gen. 25, 27 to 34 belongs to the Jahvist.

561 class name, and is allied with the next (or previous)
701 group, the first being the right hand grade and the other
[881] being the left hand grade. After several years the
[884] junior warriors go through another ceremony and become
full warriors. Their total period of warrior duty may
714 be about 15 years. The warriors are distinguished by
their hair style and spear.

714 The hair style involves a complicated
302 plating of the hair with some combination of cords,
pieces of hide or gut, bark, or stick; all liberally
plastered with sheep or cow fat and red ochre. Elliott
(1948) has detailed the methods and materials used and
variations in style between areas.

714 The warriors' spear is often over five feet
4-11 long. It has a long, narrow, double-edged blade, an
equally long but round and pointed tail, and between
them a very short wooden hand grip serving as a shaft.
Warriors also carry a flat, double-bladed long knife or
short sword called a simi. These useful weapons are
177 carried at the waist in a red leather sheath. Originally
4-11 the metal weapons were produced by metal-working tribes.
• 326 They now come from England and the first thing a moran
does after buying a spear or simi is to file off the
4-11 brand name. When in ceremonial dress or at war the

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
MASAI FL 12

M 30 321 [304]

EAR-STRETCHER. An oblong block of wood, grooved, and buttoned in the widely-distended ear lobe.

Length, 4¼ inches; width, 1¼ inches; thickness, 1¼ inches.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151232

C 301 321 326

EAR-RINGS. One made of wood, wrapped with copper wire, and having two pendants of iron chain. The other is only a plain piece of horn, shaped for the framework of an ear-ring.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151234

EAR-RING. Of horn, with wrappings of beads, and fringe or tassels of iron chain.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151233

EAR-RING. Made of a quill, cut and beat into a loop at the upper end. At the lower end hangs a pendant of iron wire chain of native manufacture, so fine and neatly made as to resemble machine work.

Wa Chaga tribe; Machame district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151235

EAR-RINGS. Coils of iron wire served at the ends with fine copper wire. Fringes of iron chain hang down from the coils. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151563

EAR-RING. Coil of wire, one turn at each end wound with fine copper wire. This coil is worn horizontally and from it depends a fringe of very fine iron chain, each strand spaced off at the top with a blue bead.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151564

EAR-RING. A worn and broken specimen of the same style as the foregoing.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151565

EAR-RING. Wooden ring and fringe of iron chain. Fastened in the ear by means of a stick run through the ring behind the lobe of the ear.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151566

EAR-RING. Staple of horn, to one prong of which is attached an iron chain with amulets of cow's bone. Worn by men.

Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151567

M 30 [326]

NECKLACE. Made of beads and brass wire on leather base; projecting ornament on the edge of the rim, made of a polished disk of shell; pendant, a fringe of small chains.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151213

NECKLACE. Made of beads of different sizes on a band of leather. Partly fringed with small chains and beads.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151214

C 301 326

NECKLACE. Made of beads, with an iron chain fringe.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151228

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Masai FL12
Nika FL14

C
M
301
326

NECKLACE. Small blue and white beads, strung on a piece of stiff wire.

Masai tribe of Tukitoki; East Africa. 151211

NECKLACE. A band formed of strands of native beads, which are seeds rubbed down so as to join closely. Necklace opens at the back.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151571

NECKLACE. Made by looping on a cord a series of little bundles of bark.

Wa Chaga tribe; Kahe district; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151572

NECKLACE. Made of iron and wrapped with iron wire.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151212

NECKLACE. Copper wire wound around core of brass wire. Worn by both sexes.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151219

NECKLACE. Ring of brass, with design chiseled on the exterior.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151220

N
[301]

NECKLACE. Brass chains, with neatly made pendants of brass wire coiled over iron wire.

Wa ny ika tribe; Mombasa, East Africa. 151798

NECK-RING. Of brass, with incised ornament on the back. Much abraded by use. Said to have come from Ugweno.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151559

NECK-RING. Of brass, with incised ornament on the back. Said to have come from Ugweno.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151560

NECK-RING. Copper wire wound around a core of iron wire. The ends bent so as to form a clasp.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151561

NECKLACES. Broad rings of leather closely beaded on the upper side, the beads being ground down to a flat surface, giving mosaic effect.

Masai tribe, of To'kitoki, East Africa. 151218

NECKLACE. Made of leather and beaded; hanging bavet or fringe, of iron chains. The leather is stiffened with an iron ring which goes round the neck; the lower piece fastens to the girdle.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151217

NECKLACE. Leather ring, beaded; small fringe of iron chains.

Masai tribe; East Africa. 151215

NECKLACE. Round necklace, wound with beads, with loops at the ends for tying.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151218